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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-04 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 EB-08
TRSE-00 COME-00 OES-07 /084 W
----------125763 020028Z /20
O R 012115Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4853
INFO USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 0799

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF NEUTRAL/
NON-ALIGNED TEXT

SUMMARY: OUR PRELIMINARY DELEGATION ASSESSMENT IS THAT NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) HAVE MADE GENERALLY REASONABLE EFFORT TO PRESENT DOCUMENT THAT WOULD SERVE AS FAIR BASIS FOR HONEST NEGOTIATIONS. CRUCIAL ASPECT IS TREATMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BASKET THREE TEXTS ARE GOOD BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION FROM WESTERN POINT OF VIEW. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SECTION, HOWEVER, IS MINIMALIST, BUT MAY BE ACCEPTABLE IF APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE CAN BE RETAINED IN GENERAL POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS SECTION AS NNA PROPOSE.
END SUMMARY.

1. AS NOTED IN SEPTEL TRANSMITTING TEXT OF NNA TEXTS, PREVIOUS NNA PAPER CONTAINING SECTION ON GENERAL POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS, BM/65, IS TO BE REGARDED AS INTEGRAL PART OF NNA PROPOSAL. THIS IS VITAL BECAUSE THAT DOCUMENT CONTAINS LANGUAGE ON IMPLEMENTATION DEFICIENCIES AND
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HUMAN RIGHTS AND THEIR RELATION TO DETENTE, AND ON ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS IN WORKING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT WHICH CAN SERVE AS MINIMUM BASIS FOR MEETING ALLIED REQUIREMENTS IN THIS AREA. FOLLOWING ARE OUR PRELIMINARY VIEWS OF NEW TEXTS:

2. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES) -- IN AND OF ITSELF THIS TEXT

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WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FROM WHICH TO START NEGOTIATIONS. SEVENTH PRINCIPLE, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, IS INCLUDED ONLY IN GENERAL CATALOGUE OF ALL TEN PRINCIPLES. REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IS BRUSHED OVER LIGHTLY AND GENERALLY. NO NEW PROPOSALS ARE INCLUDED, AND GENERAL TONE IS ONE SUGGESTING IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLES AS CODE FOR BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AT EXPENSE OF INDICATION THAT THERE NEEDS TO BE UNILATERAL IMPORVEMENTS IN SOME AREAS, IN PARTICULAR HUMAN RIGHTS. ALLIED AND NNA DELS EXPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS TEXT WILL BE NEGOTIATED IN CONTACT GROUP ALONG WITH GENERAL POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS LANGUAGE OF BM/65 WHICH DOES CONTAIN CORE ELEMENTS OF ALLIED REQUIREMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS, AND IMPLEMENTATION ASSESSMENT. WE SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THIS TEXT. WE WILL NEED, HOWEVER, TO CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR LINKAGE OF PRINCIPLES TEXT TO GENERAL POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS LANGUAGE AND OUR PRIORITY REQUIREMENT THAT WE OBTAIN SATISFACTION IN LATTER IF WE ARE TO WORK ON BASIS OF NNA TEXT OF FORMER.

3. SECOND HALF OF NNA DRAFT ON PRINCIPLES REFLECTS CHAPEAU AND OTHER LANGUAGE ALREADY ESSENTIALLY AGREED IN DRAFTING GROUP. POSSIBLE JOKER IN TEXT IS PARAGRAPH CALLING ON PARTICIPATING STATES "TO INCREASE THEIR EFFORTS IN ORDER TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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EXISTING DISPUTES." THIS IS NEW LANGUAGE NOT DRAWN FROM NEW PROPOSALS ON TABLE OR FROM BM/65. IT ESSENTIALLY DEALS WITH ONE OF PRINCIPLES, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, THOUGH WITHOUT CITING THAT PRINCIPLE BY NAME. WE WOULD HOPE TO USE ITS PRESENCE, AS PERHAPS NNA INTEND, AS WEDGE TO ADVANCE OUR POSITION THAT MATERIAL CAN AND SHOULD BE INCLUDED RELATING TO OTHER PRINCIPLES, I.E., HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- NNA TEXT APPEARS ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION FROM WESTERN POINT OF VIEW. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, WILL FIND IT MUCH LESS SO. FOLLOWING ARE INITIAL OBSERVATIONS ON COMPONENT ELEMENTS:
A. REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF CBMS. STATEMENT NOTES "SOME DIFFERENCE IN MANNER AND DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTATION" BUT EXCLUDES ALL DETAIL CONTAINED IN EC-9 DRAFT (BM/69). HOWEVER, IT WOULD SATISFY MINIMAL ALLIED REQUIREMENTS AND MIGHT POSSIBLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO EAST. WE SHOULD

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PROBABLY TRY INITIALLY TO INTRODUCE SOME DETAIL AND
PERHAPS SUBSTITUTE "SHORTCOMINGS IN IMPLEMENTATION" FOR
PHRASE QUOTED ABOVE, BUT BE PREPARED TO SETTLE FOR NNA
TEXT IF WARSAW PACT WILL.
B. NEW CBMS. POSITION OF NNAS ON NEW CBMS HAS BEEN
MUCH CLOSER TO ALLIES THAT TO WARSAW PACT THROUGHOUT THE
CONFERENCE, AND THIS IS REFLECTED IN THEIR SYNTHESIS.
THEY HAVE BOILED DOWN ORIGINAL NNA PROPOSALS (BM/6
PLUS AMENDMENTS) BUT DROPPED NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE.
TEXT INCORPORATES A COUPLE OF ALLIED IDEAS NOT FOUND IN
ORIGINAL NNA PROPOSALS (REFERENCE TO UN EXPERTS GROUPS
ON MILITARY BUDGETS, AND RESTRICTION OF NOTIFICATION OF
MOVEMENTS TO THOSE "INTO OR WITHIN" THE CSCE AREA).
IT ALSO PROVIDES FOR "FURTHER CONSIDERATION" OF IDEA OF
MANEUVER CEILING PROPOSED BY SOVIETS, A FORMULATION
WHICH, WITH MINOR WORD-SMITHING, US AND ALLIES SHOULD
BE ABLE TO ACCEPT. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS FOR US WITH NNA
TEXT WOULD BE: ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC REQUIREMENT FOR
NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS (WHICH WE COULD
ACCEPT); PROVISION FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF
NOTIFICATION OF NAVAL MANEUVERS AND OF SMALLER-SCALE
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AND NAVAL MOVEMENTS (WHICH WE COULD NOT
ACCEPT); AND ABSENCE OF ESSENTIAL 200-KM DISTANCE THRESHOLD
FOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS. IF NEGOTIATION

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WERE BETWEEN NATO AND NNA, THESE POINTS COULD BE READILY ACCOMODATED, AND REST OF TEXT WOULD PROVIDE A BROAD BASIS FOR SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT. FOR SOVIETS, HOWEVER, PROVISION FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF A MANEUVER CEILING IS UNLIKELY TO PROVIDE MUCH INCENTIVE TO ACCEPT A TEXT WHICH IS OTHERWISE WHOLLY OBJECTIONABLE.
C. DISARMAMENT. TEXT IS A COMPRESSED VERSION OF ORIGINAL NNA PAPER, BM/18, WHICH BOTH EAST AND WEST HAVE ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED AS A PROMISING BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. PROBLEM WILL BE TO GET SUFFICIENT AGREEMENT IN CBMS AREA TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON A COUPLE OF PARAGRAPHS ON DISARMAMENT WITHOUT UPSETTING TEXTUAL BALANCE BETWEEN CBMS AND DISARMAMENT FOUND IN FINAL ACT.

5. BASKET TWO -- NNA TEXT IS NOT A FULLY SATISFACTORY DOCUMENT AS IT NOW STANDS. WHILE IT CONTAINS GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE COVERING THE MORE IMPORTANT WESTERN PROPOSALS (I.E., WIDER SCOPE FOR SAMLL AND MEDIUM-SIZED FIRMS; BUSINESS INFORMATION, TRAVEL, CONTACTS AND FACILITIES; RECOGNITION OF NEED TO EXPAND CONTACTS BETWEEN SCIENTISTS), IT ALSO CONTAINS PROPOSAL EITHER IN WHOLE, OR IN PART, THAT WESTERN STATES HAVE SOUGHT TO EXCLUDE FROM A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, ON ENERGY, THE CONCEPT THAT AN ECE STUDY ON AN ENERGY BALANCE WILL FORM BASIS FOR PROPOSALS FOR POSSIBLE AREAS AND FORMS OF FUTURE COOPERATION; ON ENVIRONMENT, ENDORSEMENT OF A HIGH LEVEL MEETING; ON TRANSPORT, RECOM-MENDATION FOR EXPERTS MEETING TO EXAMINE POSSIBILITY FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN INLAND WATERWAY CONCEPT. ALSO THE REVIEW
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OF IMPLEMENTATION SECTION (FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS) IS HEAVILY WEIGHTED TO EASTERN VIEWPOINT AND WILL REQUIRE BALANCING LANGUAGE.

6. AS A NEGOTIATING DOCUMENT, HOWEVER, WE FIND IT ACCEPTABLE AND BELIEVE THAT OUR NATO ALLIES WILL COME TO SAME CONCLUSION. OUR MISGIVINGS OVER WORDING OF CERTAIN PROPOSALS ARE SHARED BY OTHERS, IN PARTICULAR THE EC-9. WE BASICALLY HAVE THE SAME CONCERNS AS THE EC ON BASKET TWO ISSUES AND SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK

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CLOSELY WITH THEM IN DEVELOPING A SATISFACTORY TEXT
IF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE WILLING TO SHOW SOME
MOVEMENT FROM THEIR ENTRENCHED POSITIONS. WE WOULD
INTEND TO LET THE EC-9 TAKE LEAD IN CRITICIZING AND
CHANGING NNA TEXT AND TO SUPPORT THEIR INITIATIVES
WHEN REQUIRED.

7. BASKET THREE -- NNA HAVE SUBMITTED GOOD NEGOTIATING
TEXTS. THEY ARE WELL ABOVE WHAT WE CAN REASONABLY EXPECT
TO HAVE IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT YET THEY DROP ENOUGH
OUT OF THE EXISTING WESTERN SYNOPSES TO LET THE SOVIETS
JUSTIFY USING THEM AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HUMAN
CONTACTS TEXT ELIMINATES MOST OF THE WORDS ON WHICH
SOVIETS HUNG THEIR PREVIOUS OBJECTIONS AND INDEED WEAKENS
THE LANGUAGE. NONETHELESS, IT MAINTAINS SOME VERSION OF
ALL IMPORTANT WESTERN PROPOSALS EXCEPT ACCESS TO EMBASSYS.
NNA PAPER RETAINS ALL WESTERN ELEMENTS ON INFORMATION
IN SHORTENED AND WEAKENED FORM. ONLY WESTERN DESIDERATUM
IN CULTURE AND EDUCATION CONCERNED ACCESS TO ARCHIVES
AND IT IS STILL THERE IN REDUCED FORM. THESE LATTER TWO TEXTS
ARE USEFUL IN THAT THEY ELIMINATE MUCH OF THE LARGE VOLUME
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OF MARGINAL PROPOSALS.

8. FURTHER COMMENT: -- ONE GENERAL POINT THAT ACCORDS
WITH ALLIED INTERESTS IS THAT NNA HAVE THROUGHOUT USED
FORMULA "THE PARTICIPATING STATES" TO EXPRESS JUDGMENTS
AND COMMITMENTS. SOVIETS HAVE, OF COURSE, SOUGHT TO
DEMONSTRATE LESSER POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BELGRADE

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MEETING AND ITS CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BY INSISTING OVER
PAST SEVERAL WEEKS THAT, IN DISTINCTION OF FORMULA USED
THROUGHOUT HELSINKI FINAL ACT, BELGRADE DOCUMENT MUST
SPEAK OF VIEWS EXPRESSED BY "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
PARTICIPATING STATES."

9. WE WILL BE DISCUSSING NNA TEXTS IN MORE DETAIL IN
USDEL MEETING MORNING OF FEBRUARY 2 AND WOULD EXPECT
TO FOLLOW GENERAL LINES INDICATED ABOVE IN NATO HEADS
OF DELEGATION CAUCUS AT 1630 FEBRUARY 2 THAT WILL DEVELOP
BASIC GUIDELINES FOR EXPECTED INITIAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS
IN CONTACT GROUPS FEBRUARY 3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING
ANY INITIAL VIEWS DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONVEY IF POSSIBLE
PRIOR TO NATO CAUCUS FEBRUARY 2.
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To: STATE
Type: TE
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